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548 177 Consequences. The consequences that prostitution has brought to Guajiro society are various: The first and decisive one is the almost absolute wreck of the social organization due to the destruction of marriage, the mainstay of social life based on the purchase of a woman, who by this transaction becomes the private property of the man in the matrimonial sense. If she is unfaithful there arise the claim for compensation payment and the whole series of consequences which we have seen previously, all tending to preserve conjugal fidelity. On the woman's turning to prostitution, the legal norms which establish that marriage payment and the very constitution of the family become useless as it erases the essential character of the family: i.e., procreation. There is an end to the principle of the establishment of new social cells and fecundation takes second place. It is the biological satisfaction that is sought, not the procreation of children, a phenomenon which constitutes a grave social problem for, although many people accept contraceptives, others through ignorance or thoughtlessness on the part of the man do not use them, and the natural consequences of pregnancy are not long delayed. Then they have recourse to all the abortives they know [847] of empirically, using the herbs whose active qualities are claimed by the old women of the Sierra de Macuira, or those they have traditionally learned from their ancestors, or they ask the assistance of a woman practiced in these matters, who for a fee provokes the abortion by traumatic massage on the abdomen of the pregnant woman and keeps the secret.

●848 Besides abortives, the Guajiro woman uses potions of herbs which sterilize her for a time, up to three years, without stopping menstruation, and others which interrupt the menstrual cycle for long periods with the result that her sexual relations do not lead to pregnancy. She even appeals to magic to get this result, for example, by drinking, while fasting, a potion made from mule's [237] excrement left to soak overnight and then decanted. They believe that as this animal is sterile so will the woman who imbibes the preparation.

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583 177 Permanent marriages take place generally between women of standing and whites of recognized influence, and they are more stable. The conduct of the woman and her relatives is in accord with the rank of her husband, and he on his part maintains toward his wife a certain courtesy and gives her the good treatment she deserves as a person of high status. In these cases it is not unusual that the woman has been bought in accord with Guajiro legal tradition and that the marriage lasts; but frequently it is ratified later in the Catholic church, or both forms were used from the first moment.

177 595 848 It is possible, also, that the white man, following Guajiro custom and in spite of his Catholic marriage, has other wives of lower status than the first, who always keeps the rank of legitimate wife in our sense and on whom depends the social representation of the children, the only heirs of the father and of the home, legal center of the family. The other women, although bought according to Guajiro law, acquire more or less the rank of concubines in our culture, and their children, the position of illegitimate ones. Catholic missionary influence and relations with whites have made the Indian come to regard his form of marriage as a little immoral. For this reason they now say when speaking of a Guajiro woman married with the rites of their culture: "She is So-and-so's woman," and the woman who has been married by Catholic rite says: "I am So-and-so's wife." Thus when one asks a Guajiro woman, for example, "Where is your husband?", one must be careful to use the right word for husband /marido/ or spouse /esposo/, using the first word in the case of a marriage according to peninsula rites and the second in the case of a Catholic marriage, the word "marido" being considered offensive when improperly used. As a consequence of this fact, the concept of legitimate and illegitimate children has sprung up, a concept which has no place in primitive Guajiro law. A child even though born as the result of illicit relations is a child without adjectives, either of scorn or contempt. In such cases the mother has received by force through her relatives the payment for her abuse and the

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177 595 948 birth in such a way that they are never placed outside the pale of the law. This may be due to the uterine line of kinship in which the father does not count in the recognition of children.

In these cases of marriage between whites and Guajiro women there also occurs a union of these two ideas. The white man refuses to buy the woman or legitimize their union through the [583] necessary traditional proceedings demanded by her culture. The refusal to comply with the main traditional requisite makes the man unacceptable, and he is considered an intruder.

The children, illegitimate /94/ according to the paternal mentality, meet a natural reluctance among their mother's relatives, who however in the long run have to accept them.

582 Consanguineous marriage. Although the Guajiro community is in an obvious process of disintegration, there is a characteristic which is strongly maintained: exogamy, which, at the present time, does not mean the prohibition of marriage within the same clan group, but within a limited circle of close consanguineous kin: brothers /and sisters, hermanos/, uncles /and aunts, tíos/, and ascendants in the female line. Thus today in La Guajira we find marriages between individuals of the same clan, since the tie has weakened so much that although they belong to the same clan group, they do not consider themselves relatives.

If the marriage takes place within the small family circle, the opinion of society and of the relatives is never favorable. They cannot explain why nor wish to accept that an individual should marry a consanguineal kin included among those just mentioned. Their magical beliefs reinforce this, because these beliefs establish the prohibition that a man must not marry a relative, or he will be come bald.

582 598 Guajiro mentality cannot accept as natural the marriage of a woman to her maternal uncle. This would be incest at its worst, because the maternal uncle has the position that a father has with us. There was a case, and a similar attitude has always been observed in like cases, of a Guajiro girl who had sexual relations with her maternal uncle. After pregnancy became

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583 Real abduction takes place when a Guajiro youth is not yet able to buy a woman with his own possessions, or does not want to collect payments from the family to buy her, or because, in the case of a new wife (polygamy), he resorts to this action, often thinking that he will be able to avoid the payment altogether or get a price or installments more in keeping with what possessions he has. He then abducts a woman and goes away as far as possible, taking his cattle with him. This abduction offers two possibilities when the claim for compensation payment is presented to him and in fact to his relatives: first, to pay the price of the woman through a later arrangement, in which case the marriage is legalized. The payment is usually made in two installments. Second, to cover the price of the abuse, that is, the usufruct he has taken of the woman without previous payment and later, if she is pregnant, for the pregnancy and the pains of delivery. In this case the payment is less than that of a poor marriage and does not give the man any right over the woman or over her child.

583 848 Illicit pregnancy. When an unmarried woman becomes pregnant, the maternal family is gravely offended, and it is not unusual for her brothers to beat her brutally, saying, "You have not been bought, and you are like a burro," and they try to make her confess who /100/ the guilty man is. The mother and the aunts intervene also, scolding her harshly. Very poor families, knowing that it is all useless and that they cannot make the man comply with their compensation claim for abuse, resign themselves to the situation almost without protest. The most they say to the girl when she has the child, in the most contemptuous way, is, "You have given birth like a bitch," that is to say, "You, whose pregnancy and labor pains nobody paid for, you, whose maternity is not even recognized by he who caused it, you, who do not have a man who honors you in your maternity, you are like a bitch that gives birth alone and does not even know who caused its pregnancy." When the woman is of high class she is nearly always abandoned by her relatives.

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796 aspects: 1) it shows ability in theatrical representations; (2) dancing, such as we have described in previous paragraphs, accompanied by songs; 3) a very interesting sexual aspect, in which the cultural patterns which govern Guajiro society are [786] broken, permitting the possibility of a certain sexual freedom without the consequences attached to such in normal times. We will begin with this last aspect, leaving for later a discussion of what their songs, plays, or drama really are.

796 Sexual aspect. a) The man, when the moment for dancing arrives, takes a partner who usually accompanies him on every 786 evening of the dance. When they end by liking each other, as a result of dancing together, the couples leave the dancing group and withdraw to the forest to satisfy their sexual desires.

684 In normal times in the community this act would lead to outbreaks of fighting in which the clans of the two participants 628 would clash. The man would be summoned and would be under an obligation to pay a large sum for the harm done and a further sum for the dangers and pains of childbirth in case of pregnancy; or he would find himself obliged to buy the woman for wife in reparation for the fault he had committed. In case he failed to comply with one of these requirements, vengeance and war would follow. But none of this happens during this time of fiesta.

796 If a man who has been with a woman during these nights of 786 dancing (which can go on for three or four months) cares to take her as his wife, he must pay for her the price arranged with her relatives, but if he does not want to do this, his total obligation [431] is limited to a present of a robe. She on her part will give him a similar gift or simply a belt for his loincloth. Afterward they do not meet each other except on casual occasions.

Furthermore, if, owing to intimacies during the dance between unmarried couples, a child should be born, the father has [848] no responsibility toward it or to the girl's relatives. The child is accepted by the girl's family; it is not looked down on, and it participates under conditions of equality with the legitimate heirs in all the duties and rights of the other members of the family group.